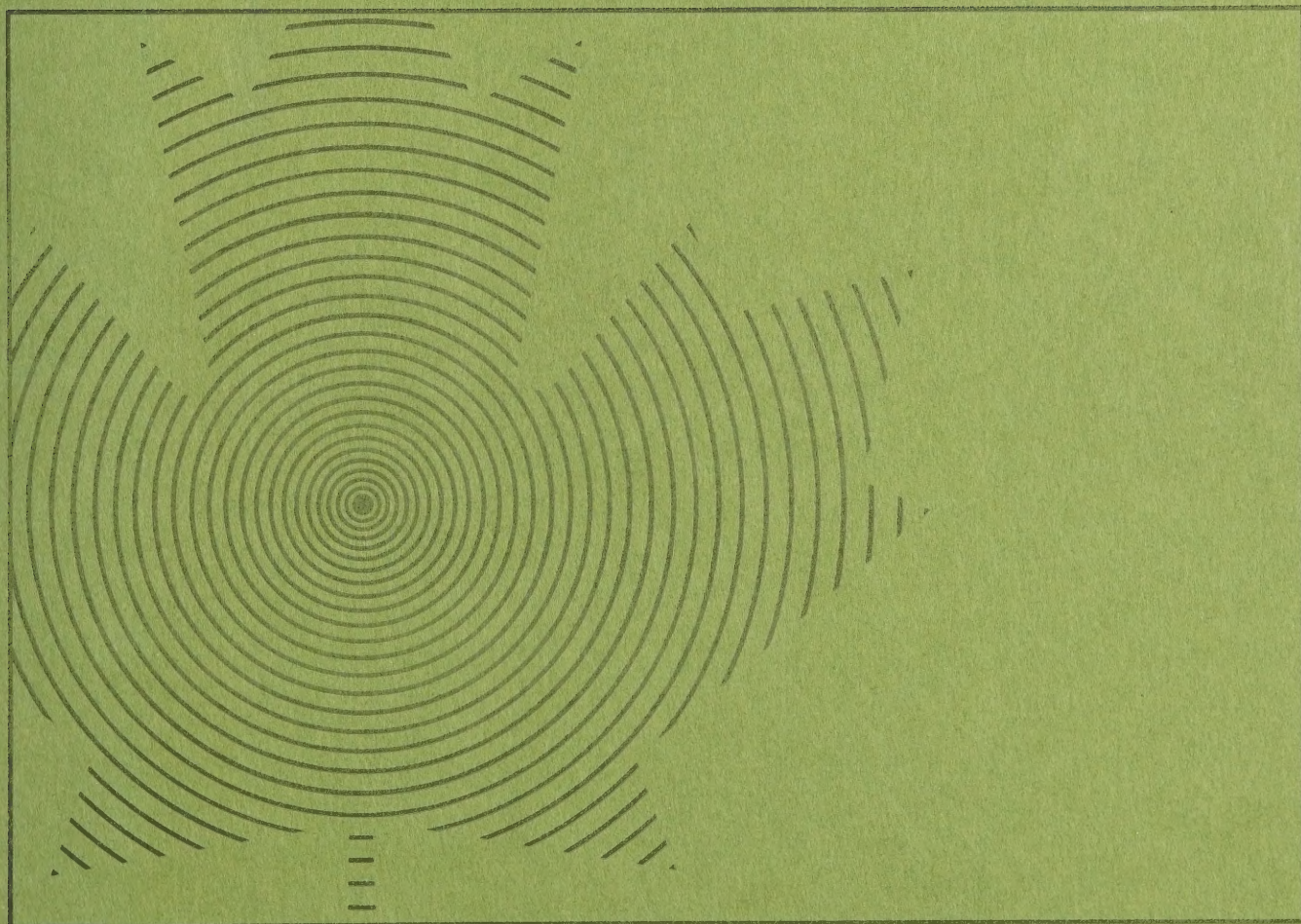


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The inner city: problems, trends and federal policy

by Reg McLemore
Carl Aass and Jean Filion
Ministry of State
for Urban Affairs



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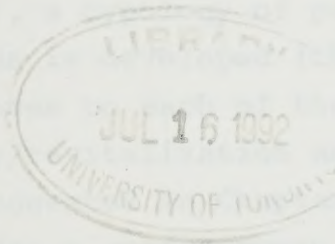
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by Reg McLemore
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for Urban Affairs

April 1974
Ottawa



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Abstract

This document is the report of a study carried out by MSUA staff. It is basically an analysis of existing studies, statistical data and planning documents, and attempts to communicate an image of the inner city in terms of present conditions and prevailing trends. It discusses the likely future of Canadian inner city areas based on these prevailing trends, and indicates certain counter-trends which, if assisted, might produce a different and (in our view) more desirable future. The actual and potential role of the federal government in influencing the future of the inner city is a major feature of the report.

In addition to discussing general conditions and trends (Chapter 3), a typology of patterns of change in inner city areas is developed (Chapter 4). Policy and program responses to each of the three types - decline, stability/revitalization and massive redevelopment - are suggested in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 provides a good summary for those who do not have the time to read the whole document.

Résumé

Le présent document est le rapport d'une étude effectuée par le personnel du DECAU. Il constitue essentiellement une analyse des études existantes, des données statistiques, des documents de planification et des tentatives faites en vue de transmettre une image du inner city en fonction des conditions et des tendances actuelles. Il traite de l'avenir probable de noyau des villes canadiennes d'après ces tendances actuelles et indique certains contre-courants qui, s'ils sont soutenus, pourraient produire un avenir différent et (à notre avis) plus souhaitable.

Une partie importante du rapport traite du rôle que le gouvernement fédéral joue et peut jouer pour influencer l'avenir du inner city.

En plus d'étudier les conditions et les tendances générales (partie III), il établit une typologie des patrons d'évolution dans le noyau des villes (partie IV). Dans la partie VI, il propose des solutions au niveau de la politique et des programmes pour chacune des trois catégories: déclin, stabilité/revitalisation et réaménagement massif.

La partie VI présente un bon résumé pour ceux qui, faute de temps, ne peuvent pas lire tout le document.

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Acknowledgements

This is the first major output of the inner city research group. The project officer was Reg McLemore, and the responsibility for putting together the final draft was his. David Belgue was instrumental in the development of the typology, and Glen Tunnock collected much of the statistical data. Carl Aass did the analysis of federal policies and programs, and both he and Jean Filion made significant contributions to all aspects of the study.

This document will be revised periodically in light of new findings and developments and our evolving perspective on the area of study. It is to be a continuing mechanism for communicating the results of our work.

Three further background papers were produced from the study which are not included in this publication: a) an assessment of the urban renewal program; b) a more thorough review of relevant federal programs and policies; and c) a bibliography of Canadian literature on the inner city. Each of these is available upon request to Reg McLemore.

Table of contents

Abstract	iii
Résumé	v
Acknowledgements	vii
1 Introduction	1
2 Concepts of the inner city	5
3 General distributional patterns and trends	7
4 Inner city trends and the municipal response	17
4.1 Three patterns	17
4.2 Local government responses	26
5 A quick review of federal programs and policies	33
6 Suggested policy and program responses	39
6.1 Responses to general conditions and trends	39
6.2 Specific responses to the three patterns	41
6.3 Conclusion	49
References	53
List of tables	
1 Mean socio-economic status index by distance from the centre of metropolitan areas by mile zones	9
2 Percentage distribution of Canadian metropolitan and urban areas, 1961, and United States metropolitan areas, 1960, by pattern of status group over-representation in central city	11
3 Change in ratio of central-city to total-area percentage in specified status group for 15 Canadian metropolitan or urban areas, 1951 to 1961	13
4 Dimensions of the three types	19
5 Population composition	20
6 Community organization	21
7 Physical conditions	22
8 Functions	23
9 Pressure for redevelopment	24

10	Federal programs in terms of effect on the inner city	34
11	Federal programs by relevance to types of inner city areas	35
12	The three types and policy responses	51
List of figures		
1	Layers of social space	8
	Ministry publications list	55

1 Introduction

This report attempts to document conditions, problems and trends in the inner city of a sample of urban areas, and to analyze federal policies and programs which have an important effect on the inner city.

The study was necessary for two reasons:

- a) The inner city theme required a basic document which would serve to clarify our understanding of our research area, provide a data base, and guide further research activities.
- b) Ongoing and anticipated policy formulation activities related to federal influence on the inner city require an information base and conceptual clarification. It is hoped it will also be of use to other levels of government and the private sector.

The research group felt that many previous governmental attempts to attack inner city problems were influenced by American concepts, problems and solutions. The image of the inner city in the American context is a powerful and disturbing one, and is widely disseminated through the media and academic channels of communication. American scholars and planners have been busily analyzing inner city problems and proposing solutions, and much of their work has deservedly become quite well known. The Canadian response has been to either apply this work, with little questioning, to the Canadian situation, or to reject it entirely by stating "We don't have those problems here." Neither response is satisfactory. It is hoped that this document and further work by the inner city and other themes will contribute toward a better understanding of the Canadian situation in regard to the inner city and generate solutions responsive to problems and potentials in Canadian cities.

All information was drawn from existing studies, plans, and bodies of data. Such documentation was collected for the following cities: Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Saint John and St. John's. As might be expected, we discovered an impressive amount of documentation on Toronto and Montreal, somewhat less for Vancouver, and considerably less on the remainder with practically nothing on the Maritime cities. Existing material varied greatly in terms of quality and coverage, but there is enough, we feel, to give this document value.

Chapter 2 discusses the concept of the inner city from several perspectives.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the general distributional pattern of certain key variables (socio-economic status, ethnicity, etc.) in Canadian urban areas, and comparisons of the patterns found in different cities. Trends in this respect are also mentioned.

Whereas Chapter 3 stressed generalizations, Chapter 4 focuses on specific cases to demonstrate that the inner city is by no means homogeneous. A typology is developed based on the trends observable in different cities and different parts of the inner city. Municipal responses to the three types - decline, massive redevelopment and stabilization/revitalization - are also discussed.

Chapter 5 mentions briefly the gamut of federal policies and programs which have direct or indirect effects on the inner city.

In Chapter 6 we turn our attention to policy and discuss implications of the trends and conditions analyzed in this document. In particular, we attempt to spell out the need for different policy responses

to inner city areas which are undergoing decline, are stable, or are undergoing massive redevelopment.

2 Concepts of the inner city

There are many ways to define the inner city as the basis for research and policy formulation. One could define it as a spatial area - the central core and those residential areas adjacent to it. Or, one could enumerate a number of problems (e.g. poverty, substandard housing, crowding) which though not confined to the inner city as a geographic area may be especially severe there. A synthesis of these two would yield a concept of the inner city as a geographic area which is the focus of certain social, economic and physical problems.

Such a definition might read as follows: The inner city consists of the central core of large cities and residential areas around this core. These are generally characterized by (among others):

- heterogeneity of population
- mixed and changing land use patterns
- aging structures
- high land prices and redevelopment pressures
- low income zones
- congestion problems

• shifting community structures both ethnic and socio-economic (Seni, McLemore and Fillion, 1973)

The definition of the inner city also has political overtones. Though there are now important signs of change, the low-income and immigrant populations which have historically resided in the inner city have lacked voice in the political process. Normally only a small percentage voted, they had not developed politically-oriented organizations and they could not compete with much stronger interests in the urban political scene.

Urban researchers at INRS (University of Quebec) offer a more operational definition which, though not applicable across the country, is interesting in the implications they draw out of the definition. It does, in fact, apply rather well to the older, larger urban areas:

"L'inner city que nous avons défini opérationnellement à Montréal comme le bâti d'avant guerre est un tissu urbain 1) qui correspond à une technologie de transport antérieur à l'automobile donc basée sur le transport en commun et la marche, 2) qui permet un style de vie particulier fondé sur sa densité, sur la multifonctionnalité de ses espaces (mélange de résidentiel, de commerce, d'usines) etc. Ce style de vie d'abord rejeté par les classes moyennes commence à être revalorisé par certains groupes de cette même classe qui ne peuvent le retrouver dans la structure du bâti nouveau basé sur le transport individuel en auto et l'unifonctionnalité des espaces. L'inner city devient ainsi objet potentiel de convoitise pour les classes moyennes; il y a donc risque que les classes pauvres ou marginales en soient dépossédées. Par ailleurs les villes centrales ont tendance (suite à l'explosion vers les banlieues) à renforcer leur centre d'affaire et de commerce. Les tours commerciales et d'habitation menacent elle aussi cet espace particulier et le mode de vie qui y est attaché.

La ville automobile peut difficilement s'accomoder de cette enclave peu fonctionnelle à l'ère du déplacement théoriquement instantané; elle tend à la silloner d'autoroutes, à la couvrir de stationnements. Le P.A.Q., en se proposant de renforcer la structure et le mode de vie propre à cette aire et ceci au bénéfice de ses habitants actuels, s'inscrit dans une dynamique urbanistique dont l'aboutissement est loin d'être clair. On peut presque a priori se demander si les moyens mis en oeuvre pour atteindre ces objectifs sont suffisant étant donné les forces qui oeuvrent contre. De toute façon, le P.A.Q. doit aussi être évalué en fonction de cette dynamique urbaine qui varie d'ailleurs d'une ville à l'autre " (Fortin et al., 1973).

This definition stresses the unique physical environment and life styles of the inner city, and sees the pressure to destroy this uniqueness as a central problem. It thus adds an important component to our own definition.

We do not feel it necessary or desirable to attempt more rigorous operationalizations of our concept of the inner city. Though the concept has physical-geographical elements, it is also shaped by social and cultural concerns which are not necessarily space-specific. The meaning of the concept is, we feel, sufficiently understood and widely shared so that it can form the basis for research and policy formulation.

3 General distributional patterns and trends

Do Canadian cities exhibit to some degree the concentration of the poor and disadvantaged minority groups in the inner city as found in the United States? Do Canadian cities exhibit distributional patterns similar to those discovered (through factorial ecologies and social area analyses) in numerous cities throughout the developed world? How do different Canadian cities compare in this regard? These are the questions this chapter is concerned with.

The general pattern (discovered in a number of cities) is for socio-economic status to be distributed along sectoral lines, though there is also a zonal influence. That is, areas of relatively similar socio-economic status radiate out from the central business district in wedge-shaped pieces which follow major transportation routes. However, there is also a tendency for socio-economic status to decline with distance from the city centre, as the zonal hypothesis would predict. Family status (generally, stage in the life cycle) varies consistently with distance from the core. Singles and the elderly are concentrated near the core, families with young children are found in the suburbs. The pattern of distribution by ethnicity is harder to describe. Ethnic groups tend to cluster in particular small areas. There does tend to be a zonal pattern, however, with an ethnically more heterogeneous population near the core. Figure 1 gives a simplified representation of these patterns.

Two studies demonstrate that Canadian cities exhibit similar patterns. Balakrishnan and Jarvis, in a study of 23 Canadian urban areas, found that in most cities socio-economic status is distributed more by sector than by distance zone, though the latter also explains an important part of the variation. For the larger and older centres, Toronto and Montreal, socio-economic status increases proportionately with distance from the city centre. This is also generally true of other large cities like Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and

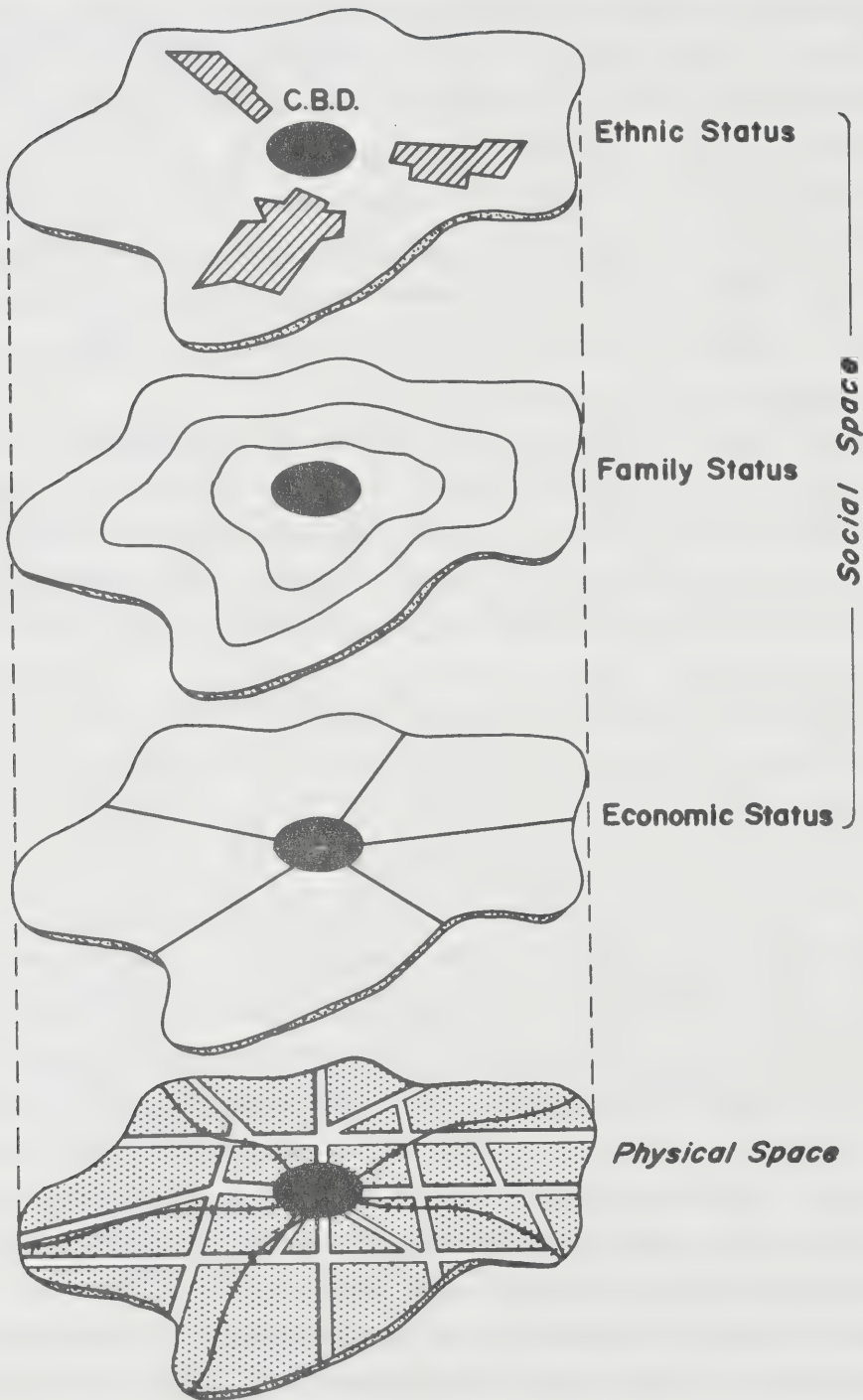


Figure 1 Distribution of socio-economic status in cities by sector and zone

Source: Robert A. Murdie. Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto 1951-1961. Research Paper No. 116, p.9. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1969.

Table 1 Mean socio-economic status (SES) index by distance from the centre of metropolitan areas by mile zones

Metropolitan area	Less than 1 mile	1 to 2 miles	2 to 3 miles	3 to 5 miles	5 to 9 miles	10 or more miles
Population size 500,000 or more						
Montreal	37.6	42.4	44.7	49.8	51.7	51.3
Toronto	38.0	44.1	48.7	51.1	55.7	56.6
Vancouver	49.4	51.6	53.9	53.4	55.0	48.4
Total	39.6	44.6	47.1	50.6	54.3	53.1
200,000-499,999						
Winnipeg	41.4	47.6	52.2	57.6	49.9	-
Ottawa-Hull	47.7	50.0	51.4	59.9	58.8	-
Hamilton	44.7	48.0	46.7	48.5	51.0	-
Quebec City	43.2	46.7	47.5	52.4	47.0	-
Edmonton	44.4	50.1	52.9	55.4	51.2	-
Calgary	43.6	50.5	56.1	60.2	47.4	-
Total	44.1	48.4	51.1	54.8	52.1	-
100,000-199,999						
Windsor	42.8	46.4	46.6	49.7	53.0	-
Halifax	43.5	55.2	53.2	47.8	-	-
London	45.3	50.5	53.3	55.5	48.6	-
Victoria	47.2	48.4	55.6	53.3	51.2	-
Kitchener-Waterloo	47.7	49.4	52.9	42.9	45.4	-
Regina	49.6	51.0	47.4	-	-	-
Sudbury	46.4	47.4	46.3	43.6	41.1	-
Total	46.1	50.2	51.0	49.4	49.6	-
Less than 100,000						
Saskatoon	46.5	52.5	50.0	45.3	-	-
Saint John	47.0	44.7	53.0	48.4	-	-
Sherbrooke	42.8	44.8	47.1	49.6	-	-
St. John's	49.6	53.7	46.6	42.6	42.9	-
Kingston	47.2	55.7	54.8	49.7	-	-
Oshawa	43.8	46.8	51.7	50.2	47.6	-
Trois-Rivières	44.6	49.3	40.3	44.3	-	-
Total	46.2	48.2	49.2	46.1	45.8	-

Source: Balakrishnan, J.R. and George Jarvis. "Socio-economic Differentiation in Urban Canada." Manuscript. University of Western Ontario, 1973.

Quebec. But for smaller centres the pattern seems to be one of socio-economic status increasing to the middle zones and then decreasing to the outer zones. Table 1 gives the mean socio-economic status index (a composite of income, educational and occupational levels) by zones for a number of Canadian urban areas. The higher the index, the higher the average income, educational level and occupational level in a given zone. Thus we can see, for example, that the index increases consistently from the centre of Toronto to the furthest zone out. For smaller cities, the pattern is much less consistent (Balakrishnan and Jarvis, 1973).

Family status in Canadian cities appears to follow the general pattern described above. We shall show later, in fact, that there is reason to believe the over-representation of non-family households in the inner city will increase substantially if current trends go unchecked.

Some ethnic and religious groups tend to cluster, largely in inner city areas, and there is no evidence that this phenomenon is decreasing. Even among the two mainstream groups, English and French, the degree of residential segregation is, if anything, increasing.

Guest, in a replication for Canada of a study in the U.S., finds that socio-economic differentiation between central cities and suburbs is similar in the two countries, though the Canadian patterns are by no means as pronounced or conclusive. Table 2 shows that 85 percent of U.S. cities show either a pattern of low income concentration in the inner city or low and high-income groups both over-represented at the expense of the middle class. Canadian cities are more evenly distributed through the five categories, with a large number of cases showing no particular pattern. There is a strong tendency for the higher socio-economic status groups to be over-represented in the suburbs and lower-income groups in the inner city in older,

Table 2 Percentage distribution of Canadian metropolitan and urban areas, 1961, and United States metropolitan areas, 1960, by pattern of status-group over-representation in central city

Status measure and pattern	Canada	United States
Education		
Low	5.4	45.0
Intermediate	32.4	2.0
High-low	0.0	35.0
High	35.1	12.0
Erratic	27.0	6.0
Number of cases	37	200
Income		
Low	37.8	40.2
Intermediate	8.1	*
High-low	18.9	45.1
High	10.8	10.3
Erratic	24.3	*
Number of cases	37	184

* Total for two categories combined is 4.4 percent.

Source: Guest, Avery. "The Applicability of the Burgess Zonal Hypothesis to Urban Canada," Demography 6:3, August 1969.

larger and heavily suburbanized places in Canada. The smaller and younger cities vary in the patterns discovered.

Comparisons using 1951 and 1961 data show that, generally, segregation by socio-economic status is becoming more pronounced. In Table 3, positive values represent an increasing concentration of the particular education or income group in the inner city. We see, for example, that the "under \$3,000" column has mostly positive values, showing that this group became increasingly concentrated in the inner city between 1951 and 1961. The "over \$6,000" column has mostly negative values, indicating that higher income groups moved toward the suburbs during that decade. As Guest noted:

These findings are generally consistent with the Burgess zonal hypothesis which argues that urban areas differentiate in their patterns of residential location by socio-economic groups as cities age and become larger (Guest, 1969).

Both studies conclude that a quick and easy explanation of Canadian residential pattern is impossible. While the general pattern is evident in the larger cities, it is not clearly demonstrated in the smaller centres. The authors also caution that much differentiation may not be picked up by their rather gross measures. Particularly in the inner city, there may be significant variation from one block to the next.

Our own literature review found general support for these findings. There are a number of trends observable which indicate a continuing (though usually slow) change of function for inner city areas. The population in the inner city is declining. This decline is greatest in the CBD and varies from nil to considerable for residential areas. There is an increasingly high percentage of persons over 65 years of age. In the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods and immigrant areas, there is a higher than average proportion of people under 15 years of age. The age group 25-64 is

Table 3 Change in ratio of central-city to total-area percentage in specified status group for 15 Canadian metropolitan or urban areas, 1951 to 1961*

Metropolitan or urban area	Education of persons not in school			Earnings of family head (dollars)					
	No school	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-12	University	Under 2,000	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-5,999	6,000 or more
Calgary	- 6	- 1	0	3	0	- 3	- 9	- 5	3
Edmonton	- 3	8	0	0	8	2	- 3	- 6	- 6
Halifax	-15	13	1	- 8	34	24	1	-32	-43
Hamilton	3	9	0	-15	13	10	12	12	- 6
London	2	2	0	2	- 5	1	1	0	10
Montreal	- 7	8	0	- 5	16	21	16	10	- 6
Ottawa	-17	8	1	- 1	2	- 5	-16	-26	- 3
Quebec	-11	10	2	-19	16	14	4	-12	-22
Saint John	7	11	- 1	- 9	14	12	16	10	- 4
St. John's	- 7	- 2	- 1	4	- 3	-11	-16	-13	4
Toronto	6	38	- 3	0	48	62	48	5	-27
Vancouver	-14	22	0	- 1	18	29	11	-10	-31
Victoria	7	27	1	-15	34	33	24	13	7
Windsor	-14	18	0	- 8	16	24	11	- 4	-28
Winnipeg	-12	11	1	- 4	20	28	15	-12	-27

* Negative value represents decreasing over-representation or increasing under-representation in central city

Source: Guest, Op. cit.

under-represented in many areas.

There is generally an increasing percentage of non-family units and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of families in large parts of the inner city. On the other hand, the remaining families tend to be larger than the city-wide average, particularly in low-income and ethnic areas which have not experienced substantial redevelopment.

Migration patterns are difficult to establish with any degree of certitude. The studies that do exist demonstrate a confusing array of in and out migrations. Poor rural migrants, foreign immigrants, upwardly-mobile families, people displaced by redevelopment projects, young singles and childless couples, and middle-income families seeking access to the CBD all participate in these flows.

The greatest immigrant and ethnic concentrations occur in the inner city, though among some of the older, more established ethnic groups (Jews, for example), there is a growing movement outward along sectoral lines. Italians, native peoples, East Europeans, Jews and Greeks appear to be the most segregated residentially, with Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians the least.

Households with lower socio-economic status are over-represented in the inner city. For a number of inner city districts studied, males earning less than \$3,000 per year ranged from 34 to 66 per cent of the total. Unemployment rates, where they were available, were significantly higher than the city average.

Condition of the housing stock varies tremendously. In eastern cities, much of it pre-dates 1920. Though there are spots of very bad housing, large portions are still in fair to good conditions. Turnover rates are often high, and the ratio of tenant occupancy to owner occupancy usually exceeds the city average.

Reductions in residential, industrial and recreational land uses are evident in the inner city, most

of it being replaced by automobile-related uses. Commercial and institutional expansion is also occurring. The central business districts are experiencing losses in residential uses but increases in service and recreational categories as well as sharing in the general trend toward more land used for parking, etc.

Kingston showed a much less differentiated pattern than the larger cities studied. Neither social, economic nor physical variables, when mapped, produce any clear patterns of concentration. What might geographically be called the inner city contains a much more heterogeneous mixture of socio-economic groups, housing types and land uses than in any of the other four. This is in line with the findings of the two studies described above as they relate to small cities (additional references, specific to each city studied, are given in Chapter 4).

It is recognized that this discussion is quite partial. It deals only with those conditions and trends for which statistical indicators are available. Questions of service delivery are ignored, for example.

It is also biased toward the more problematic areas, since most studies and planning reports deal with such areas.

Chapter 4 will, it is hoped, restore some balance to the image of the inner city we are attempting to communicate. The preceding discussion does serve to establish that the inner city is undergoing a variety of changes, some of which can be interpreted as symptoms of decline. Action is required to re-direct some of these trends and to prevent serious situations from developing.

It is also evident (and this will be more thoroughly documented later) that there is considerable potential and vitality in many inner city areas.

4 Inner city trends and the municipal response

4.1 Three patterns

Whereas the previous chapter dealt with those general national patterns which became evident, the present section is concerned with unique local situations (a particular city, or particular areas within a city). It takes account of the heterogeneity of Canadian urban areas, a phenomenon in many ways far more striking than the few general trends which can be observed nationally.

A review of the literature on the inner city areas of major Canadian cities suggests that they exhibit a large variety of traits, trends and patterns of development. We have categorized these into three basic types - decline, massive redevelopment, and stability/revitalization. These are meant to reflect not just physical realities, but social and economic ones as well. The meaning of these terms will become clear in the remainder of this section, but short definitions are attempted below:

- (a)Decline: applied to areas undergoing continuous and worsening physical deterioration, outflux of the economically mobile population, development of serious social problems, lack of organization, etc.
- (b)Massive redevelopment: applied to areas where public or private redevelopment projects are drastically altering the physical form and population composition.
- (c)Stability/revitalization: applied to areas which have become relatively stable, physically and socially, either because of a function which the area continues to serve, or a conscious political decision to remove pressure for drastic change (as in a development freeze). The term revitalization applies to activities which slowly improve the physical quality and change the population composition of the area. Government or citizen sponsored rehabilitation projects, citizen self-help

programs, and an influx of more affluent people who rehabilitate their own houses are examples.

As usual in such an approach, the three are "ideal types." Real areas often exhibit combinations of two or more, but tend toward one particular pattern.

The typology is applicable on two levels. It can refer to the inner city as a whole. The inner city of Winnipeg may represent decline, for example, whereas in Toronto the inner city is undergoing massive redevelopment. At this level, regional economic conditions are among the most important factors. Hodge has categorized the potential for growth of metropolitan areas on the basis of their regional economy and population structure (Hodge, 1968). The same forces would seem to be important in determining whether the inner city of a given metropolitan area is declining, being redeveloped, or stabilizing.

The second level at which the typology is applicable is at the level of sub-areas within the inner city. Within an inner city which is generally declining, there are areas which are declining, areas which are undergoing redevelopment, and stable neighbourhoods, for example. The same can be said for the "massive redevelopment" type. The general trend within the inner city as a whole is reflected, of course, in the trends exhibited by different sub-areas, but there is still considerable variation between sub-areas.

Table 4 sets out each of the types along a number of dimensions which are important in describing the changes taking place. They will also enable us later (Chapter 6) to point out the quite different needs of each type of area and to develop suggestions toward policies and programs which are sensitive to these differences. In Tables 5-9, each dimension is then diagrammed separately as a continuum, and the continuum is fleshed out with examples of inner city areas. Finally, characteristic municipal responses to the three types are documented.

Table 4 Dimensions of the three types

	Decline	Stability- revitalization	Massive redevelopment
Population	Continuing loss of population	No significant losses or gains	Gain in population
Socio-economic status	Decreasing	Stable	Increases
Family status	Increasing proportion of non-family units elderly, poor	Maintenance of population mix	Loss of families, gain of singles, young couples
Ethnicity	Varies-can be influx of deprived ethnic group or breaking down of traditional community	Sometimes strong ethnic community	Seldom important
Community organization	Poorly organized, unstable	Increasingly well organized	Usually unorganized
Physical	Worsening	Stable or slowly improving	Varies
Housing/land costs	Stable or decreasing	Stable or increasing	Increasing
Tenure	Increasing tenancy	Varies-sometimes increasing ownership	Tenancy
Functions	Loss of CBD functions with no replacement	Maintaining a mix of functions	Losing some CBD functions but gaining many others
Pressure for redevelopment	Low	Low or high but effectively controlled	High

Table 5 Population composition (population level, socio-economic status, family status)

Decline:	Stability:	Massive Redevelopment:
Absolute decrease in population, decreasing socio-economic status, loss of families and economically-active population.	Relatively stable population, stable or slowly increasing socio-economic status, retains mixture of family and non-family units and different age groups.	Increased population increased socio-economic status, large loss of families.

After redevelopment in St. Jamestown (Toronto), the number of non-family households increased by 38%. Of 2,485 households after redevelopment, 2,000 had no children. (Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1970).

In the West End of Vancouver, which has been undergoing considerable high-density redevelopment, the population increased from 23,900 in 1961 to 36,900 in 1971. Only 9% of the households now have children, and 25% are older than 65 (City of Vancouver, 1972).

In the Glebe, (Ottawa), the population has remained stable, the number of children has increased slightly, and the average income remains slightly above the city average (Leaning, 1970).

In Hochelaga, an older working class section of East Montreal, the population remained virtually the same between 1961 and 1965. The proportion of families, the rate of ownership, and average income have stayed high compared to other inner city areas (Conseil des Oeuvres de Montréal, 1966).

Sandy Hill (Ottawa) lost 10.8% of its population from 1961 to 1971, and the number of families decreased by 13% (Miller, 1973).

In the Winnipeg CBD, the population declined by 44% from 1941 to 1966; by 1968 over half the population received an income of less than \$3,000 per year. Other parts of the inner city have shared these trends, though to a lesser degree (Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1969).

La Petite Bourgeoisie (Montreal) lost one-third of its population between 1951 and 1965, the number of single-person households increased by 138%, and the average income fell well below city averages (Ville de Montréal, 1966).

Table 6 Community organization

Decline:	Out-migration of upwardly-mobile people or in-migration of seriously deprived group destroys ability of the community to organize.	Stability:	Core of long-term residents or influx of new group produces highly active organizations with perceived stake in stability of the area.	Massive Redevelopment:	Large turnover of the population and transiency of new group leads to few perceived common goals and lack of organization.
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St. Jamestown (Toronto) has lacked local organizations since redevelopment except in the public housing project (Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1970).

In Milton Park (Montreal), active local groups fought a losing battle against private redevelopment of the area. As redevelopment proceeds, the organization is fading (Roberts and Schwartz, 1968).

The Annex (Toronto) has had a strong local organization for decades which has succeeded in maintaining the desired residential quality of the area.

The examples here are numerous: Trefann Court (Toronto), Strathcona (Vancouver) Sandy Hill (Ottawa). In each case the objectives are stability/revitalization, to protect the area from unwanted changes and to improve conditions through locally-controlled programs.

La Petite Bourgogne (Montreal) lacked indigeneous organizations. The urban renewal project spawned some, but they have been unable to maintain themselves due to outflux of people with organizational skills (McLemore, 1972).

An influx of Indians to central areas of Winnipeg has produced a situation of conflict and disorganization. Service delivery and community organization programs are increasingly difficult to implement.

Table 7 Physical conditions

Decline:	Worsening housing conditions and general environmental quality. Usually this decline is slow and steady, but it can be rapid in the face of a threat (e.g., a highway, a redevelopment project).	Stability:	Stable or slowly-improving physical conditions, sometimes with renovation by present or new residents.	Massive redevelopment:	Rapid improvement in housing conditions, but sometimes worse conditions for those forced out; Possibility of new environmental problems.
					Private examples here are St. Jamestown in Toronto and the West End of Vancouver. A public example is La Petite Bourgeoisie (Montreal) where large numbers of new subsidized units have been built. Studies show most people relocated to the new units judge their physical environment to be greatly improved (Loranger, 1970).
					Lorimer (<u>Working People</u>) describes for the "East of Parliament" area in Toronto the process of private, middle-class renovation in an old inner city district (Lorimer, 1971).
					In the immigrant districts of Montreal, the percentage of housing units requiring major repairs has remained steady, and in 1961 was at a relatively low 8% in Mile-End and 2.8% in Nord de Mile-End (Conseil des Oeuvres de Montréal, 1966).
					In Milton Park (Montreal) housing conditions appear to have worsened considerably since announcement of a large private redevelopment project in the area (255 houses stayed vacant for two years) (Richardson, 1972).
					In the inner city of Winnipeg, 66% of the dwelling units were judged to be in fair or better condition in 1955. In a study in 1967, only 23% were characterized as fair or better (Vincent, 1972).

Table 8 Functions

Decline:	Gradual loss of core functions, particularly retail and manufacturing with no strong trend toward replacement by other functions.	Stability:	Loss of some core functions but gains in others, with some pressure for expansion of CBD into residential areas.	Massive redevelopment: Gain of new core functions is more rapid than loss of old, continuous rebuilding, considerable pressure on surrounding residential areas.
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Cities like Toronto, Edmonton and Calgary have experienced very high rates of building activity in the CBD in recent years.

In Montreal, between 1964 and 1971, there was a 5% decline in land used for industry, but an increase of 5 million square feet of office space. In adjacent zones, there was a decrease of 4% in land used for offices but an increase of 2.5% for institutions and public services (Léonard, 1973).

In Winnipeg, retail sales in the CBD as a percentage of all sale in the metropolitan area declined from 37% in 1961 to 32% in 1966. There were 15% fewer manufacturing firms, and 19% of business premises were vacant (Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1969).

Table 9 Pressure for redevelopment

Decline:	Little or no pressure for redevelopment, except sometimes a slow encroachment of industry. Pressure for public spending to stimulate private development.	Stability:	There are two types here- areas under little pressure for redevelopment, and areas under strong pressure but protected through planning controls and local groups.	Massive redevelopment:	Strong pressure for redevelopment with little or no effort to protect existing neighbourhoods.
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St. Jamestown (Toronto) and Milton Park (Montreal) are examples.

An example of the first type is parts of East Montreal. The second case is exemplified by such areas as Sandy Hill (Ottawa), Trefann Court (Toronto), and the historic section of Quebec.

The cities of Winnipeg and Regina are ready to spend large sums of public money to attract private development to central city areas. In La Petite Bourgoigne (Montreal), the city has been unable to attract private development despite strong efforts.

Other dimensions are important and should be mentioned, though they cannot be presented in the preceding form.

(a) Land and housing costs:

This factor could quite easily be presented as a continuum like the preceding ones, but we lack the data to give meaningful examples. Nevertheless, the expected behaviour of land and housing costs under the three types is outlined below:

Decline: costs are stable or decreasing, with demand at a low level.

Stability: costs are generally stable in areas not under pressure for redevelopment.

Massive redevelopment: costs are generally rising rapidly.

(b) Ethnicity:

This variable, though important, plays quite different roles in different areas. Thus it cannot be presented as a continuum.

The influx of a particularly deprived ethnic group into an area can play a role in producing decline. Such appears to be true in the case of Indians migrating to the central areas of certain western cities.

The slow break-up of a previously cohesive ethnic community can trigger decline in an area as the young and upwardly-mobile move out. This may be happening in a few Chinese neighbourhoods.

The influx of other ethnic groups can lead to stability and revitalization, however. The immigrant corridor in Montreal and the Italian and Portuguese areas of Toronto seem to exhibit this trend.

Immigrant-receiving areas are sometimes stable over long periods. The turnover is high, but second-generation immigrants moving out into the larger society are replaced by new arrivals. The area thus maintains its character, its function, and its basic social structure, and keeps its housing stock from deteriorating.

Massive redevelopment usually destroys the ethnic

character of an area.

Tenure

This factor does not vary in predictable ways. Declining areas sometimes, though not always, display increasing proportions of tenants. It can be a key variable in cases where single-family homes are being turned into rooming houses, or where a home-owning ethnic group is beginning to move out and is selling to non-resident landlords. Stable areas, on the other hand, can be predominantly either tenants or landlords.

4.2 Local government responses

Local governments have, it is maintained, recognized the patterns discussed above and reacted in characteristic ways which are outlined below. A knowledge of their reactions is valuable in terms of furthering our understanding of the three patterns and designing federal policies with these local reactions in mind.

4.2.1 Responses to decline

When faced with inner city decline, municipalities have:

- (a) Attempted to develop a stable residential base downtown usually in the form of high-rise, to provide housing close to employment and to support local retail and service functions. The "recommended goals and policy objectives" for the inner city residential zone in Regina typifies this approach:

Redevelopment to higher residential densities is occurring throughout the residential areas adjacent to the CBD - a form of development which should be encouraged and directed, in order to establish a larger support community for the CBD, increase the choice of living environments within the city, and establish a balanced population structure within the central area.

As redevelopment occurs, it is essential to encourage the provision of a diversity of

housing types, suited to a wide range of income and social groups. In particular, care must be taken to ensure that suitable forms of accommodation are developed for the large number of single individuals currently living in low-rent rooming and light housekeeping units in the area. The provision of housing in the central area oriented to family accommodation should be strongly emphasized as well.

One means of encouraging this kind and scale of development is through land assembly assistance similar to that used under the Federal Urban Renewal program (Sec. 23B N.H.A.). This would involve direct purchase and assembly of individual lots designated for redevelopment, by the City - perhaps with provincial or federal government participation - and sale or lease of the assembled site to a developer who would develop the site as an integrated residential complex in accordance with the guidelines and directives agreed upon by both parties (City of Regina, 1972).

The need for downtown residents in Winnipeg is clearly pointed out in the Downtown Plan for that city:

Careful reflection on the problem can lead to only one conclusion, namely, that if the Downtown is to be revitalized and brought to its appropriate place in the life of the Metropolitan community, it can only be accomplished through the introduction of large numbers of people into the central area; and this can only be accomplished, in Winnipeg's circumstances, through the introduction not of a new labor force, or new shoppers, but of new residents. What is required is a very large increase in Downtown's resident population; which means that some way must be found to stimulate the development of high-density apartment blocks in the Downtown (Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1969).

- (b) Attempted to halt decentralisation, particularly of retail functions, often involving a regional perspective on the location of retail, industrial, transportation and other activities. The recognition of the importance of reversing or at least reducing the trend to suburban relocation as expressed in the comprehensive community plan for Saint John is characteristic of smaller cities in particular:

The establishment of regional shopping

facilities elsewhere in the City will only serve to diminish the economic viability of retail uses in the Central Business District which contribute so significantly to the vitality of business activity and community use of that area ...

It is extremely important for the efficient and convenient functioning of the area particularly with reference to the interaction between groups of uses as well as the utilization of retail facilities that it be kept as compact as possible. If it extends over too great an area, pedestrian circulation will be difficult to the more remote parts and necessary functional linkages will be impossible to retain. If expansion occurs in large measure outside of the area of the existing concentrated development it could accelerate the decline of large parts of the existing Central Business District resulting in a disjointed area, a loss of integration, and a lack of cohesiveness (Town Planning Commission of Metropolitan Saint John, 1967).

The primary method of discouraging this decentralisation is through zoning by-laws in accordance with a land use plan for the entire metropolitan area. Often this requires the coordination of several municipal units to avoid competition for retail facilities with the resultant weakening of central business districts in each. A greater emphasis on this kind of regional planning has been exhibited in the Halifax-Dartmouth area recently with the recognition that rather than both centres attempting to create self-contained downtowns, a better plan would emphasize retail functions in Halifax and industrial functions in the Dartmouth area.

In Regina, recommended goals include: restriction of horizontal expansion of CBD functions within the central area; consolidation of new CBD development within and around the existing core; and limited expansion of new suburban commercial and higher density residential development (City of Regina, 1972).

4.2.2 Responses to massive redevelopment

(a) In most cases, local government has welcomed private schemes for redevelopment of inner-city areas, often with little public control. Public projects have been planned so as to stimulate and assist private

redevelopment. Notable examples of massive redevelopment have been Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton and Calgary.

(b) While inner-city areas undergoing redevelopment avoid the problems of decline, there are different problems associated with the influx of new residents, including relocation of the original population if they cannot or do not wish to remain in the redeveloped area. New residents may bring an entirely different range of needs and preferences that existing facilities and social service delivery systems may be unable to meet without major modification. Of central concern, therefore, is the extent of redevelopment that will be permitted and the emphasis on preserving the existing environment, as for example, in Saint John:

Dominating the Central Peninsula is the central business district. Surrounding it is a high density residential area. Redevelopment for apartments has already begun in that location and it is expected that this process will continue and in fact be encouraged through urban renewal activity. Provision for apartment redevelopment must be related to the determination of the maximum desirable change that should be permitted in this part of the City. While it is undoubtedly desirable to have the highest intensity of residential concentration situated as close as possible to the central business district, such redevelopment should not destroy the unique character of the central part of the City (Town Planning Commission of Metropolitan Saint John, 1967).

(c) Recently, cities experiencing this pattern have begun the attempt to slow down the pace and control the form of development. City councils have been elected on such platforms, and such planning techniques as down-zoning and development freezes are being tried. We might say that these cities are attempting to change their pattern to one of stability/revitalization.

4.2.3 Responses to stability/revitalization

(a) In those cities which do not have existing housing in

the inner-city of reasonable quality, efforts are beginning to be made to preserve and ameliorate the conditions of the housing stock and environment more generally, and to encourage the maintenance or development of community organization. This aim is explicit in the policy guidelines of West End Vancouver:

The policy guidelines take as their starting point the intention of the city to preserve the West End as a high quality, high density residential area close to downtown ...

The West End residential area is an important asset to Vancouver's Downtown. Yet the West End is a comparatively fragile portion of the downtown peninsula. Its residential character can easily be destroyed by the infringement of the characteristics inherent in a central business district for a metropolitan region. The future plans for transportation will have a particularly strong influence in this regard. The majority of West Enders have chosen the West End over other residential districts - they are here because they want to be. Proximity to the Downtown, the parks and the beaches is a major attraction. Recent trends, however, indicate a lessening in this attractiveness as noise, perceived lack of safety and cramped living quarters overcome the benefits of centrality.

In order to preserve and revitalize the West End, the policy guidelines make a number of recommendations:

- amend zoning to reduce future population densities
- preserve and increase existing diversity of people
- increase variety of housing types
- encourage relatively homogeneous sub-communities
- reinforce local use and character of commercial areas
- reduce noise levels
- reduce through traffic, minimize its detrimental effect
- increase use and availability of off-street parking,
- reduce heavy on-street parking
- plan community services to meet special requirements of the West End's population (City of Vancouver, 1972).

The city of Ottawa is in the process of applying development freezes to such areas as Sandy Hill and Centre Town, neighbourhoods which are considered viable

but are under pressure for redevelopment. Presumably within the context of strong controls on development, aids for housing rehabilitation and community organization will be offered.

(b) In the less affluent area of North Point Douglas, an inner-city section of Winnipeg, neighbourhood improvement on the part of municipal government is directed to overcoming the doubts and fears of residents:

The City of Winnipeg must become a vital force in improvement, especially in the early stages of the program. Through its various departments it must consciously focus on the needs of North Point Douglas and provide definite assistance for community revitalization. People who recognize the community, at present, as a good place to raise a family, or who are prepared to maintain their homes, must have assurances that personal efforts relating to the preservation of the area are not in vain.

Actions by the city to initiate improvement include:

- provision of a higher level of municipal service;
- incentives to encourage a high degree of home improvement without the penalty of higher taxation;
- grants to resident homeowners who are unable to achieve a minimum standard of housing, to encourage and preserve home ownership;
- the outright purchase of homes by the City to provide low rental accommodation, upgrading of these homes, and assurance that tenants maintain a certain standard of occupancy;
- the establishment of a meaningful minimal standards by-law which would assure a reasonable level of habitation;
- assignment of a Community Development Worker to afford the opportunity for community and municipal governments to mutually identify and solve local problems;
- extending the range of "things to do" in the community to provide North Point Douglas with much needed vitality;
- concentration on definite areas of need, including the aged, the Indian and Metis population, the

delinquent child, the one-parent family, the unemployed and unemployable, by social agencies (City of Winnipeg, 1968)

Revitalization does not apply only to middle or higher income inner city areas, but can be directed to stabilizing any area as the Don District Study points out in discussing the assumption that much of the Don District requires redevelopment but that redevelopment should provide for the accommodation of a variety of socio-economic groups. This implies that emphasis must be placed upon the conservation of communities and neighbourhoods and that high-rise developments should be permitted only within this context. The alternative is to permit the continued displacement of low income groups from the District (Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1970).

Attempts to stabilize declining areas through urban renewal have run into serious problems, however. The La Petite Bourgoigne renewal project in Montreal, for example, may have hastened rather than reversed the trend toward an extreme concentration of very poor families, the elderly and single unemployed or underemployed people.

5 A quick review of federal programs and policies

The point has been made that the federal government acts upon the city in an active and a passive role. The latter sees the federal government carrying out the normal functions of a large organization: occupying urban space, constructing and renting buildings, paying salaries, and so forth. The active role consists of the government shaping and influencing the direction, the growth and development of our cities in accordance with some predefined set of goals and objectives. This policy role can be further split into two subcategories - direct impact and indirect impact policies and programs. This short discourse will concentrate upon the policy role with short references to the passive role.

If we look at the programs and organs of the government which could possibly affect the urban Canadian situation, it becomes apparent that virtually all of them eventually have ramifications in the inner city. A first pass at trying to filter out the more significant programs left us still with nearly 40 programs and governmental agencies. A second filtration left us with 29 programs and agencies. By way of example, some of those lost in going from 37 to 29 include Statistics Canada, the Friendship Centres Program of IAND, the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, and the Direct Residual Loans Program of CMHC.

The remaining programs were then classified in two ways: by the effect of the program on the inner city in terms of scale and physical vs. social, and by the typology developed in Chapter 4 (See Tables 10 and 11 respectively).

Classifying the 29 in terms of their effect on the inner city, the four categories we arrived at were:

- a) micro physical - small scale, neighbourhood oriented (for example, NIP)
- b) macro physical - large scale, intrusive (for example, highway programs, CNR)
- c) decision-making - selfhelp, information services

Table 10 Federal programs in terms of effect on the inner city

Micro physical	Neighbourhood Improvement Program CMHC Social Housing Program Direct Aquisition & Constr. Program Insured Home Improvement
Socio-cultural	Citizens Program Citizens Culture Program Bilingual Development Program Manpower services Immigration services U.I.C. Health services Social allowances Income security Social insurance Opportunities for Youth
Decision making	Company of Young Canadians C.B.C. Local Initiatives Program N.C.C.
External factors	Surface Program Marine Program T.D.A.P. CNR NHB Urban Transportation Program Rail relocation Infrastructure Assistance Program Industrial Development Program Public Works

Table 11 Federal programs by relevance to types of inner city areas

	Areas of decline	Areas of stability	Areas of massive re- development
Bilingual Development Program			
Manpower services	X		
Immigration services			
UIC	X		
Health services			
Social allowances	X		
Income security	X		
Social insurance	X		
OFY			
CYC			
LIP			
NCC		X	X
Surface Program			
Marine Program			
TDAP			
CNR			
NHB			
Urban Transportation Program			
Railway Relocation Program			
Infrastructure Assistance Program			X
Industrial Development Program			X
Public Works			X
Citizen's Culture Program			
Citizen Program			
Insured Home Improv. Program	X	X	
Direct Acquisition & Const. Prog.			
CMHC Social Housing Program	X		X
NIP	X	X	

(for example, citizens' rights and freedoms)

- d) socio/cultural - service delivery income transfer
(for example, UIC, Manpower)

When these were used as the criteria for tabulating the programs and agencies, two significant points were revealed:

- a) There seemed to be a plethora of programs within each category. For example, among the 11 programs, agencies, and commissions focused on the socio-cultural aspect, we find the Citizens Program, the Citizen's Culture Program, and the Bilingual Development Program. It is felt that some duplications result from this. Another example would be in the Surface Program, the Marine Program, the TDAP, the CNR, the Rail Relocation Program, and the Urban Transportation Program, all within the macro physical section.
- b) There were very few programs which ranged over all four classification types. This could be interpreted as a fragmentation of the policy role - a compartmentalization of spheres of influence. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program is involved with small scale physical problems; the Railway Relocation Program deals with large scale physical changes; the Citizen's Rights and Freedom Program concerns decision making; and Immigration services are designed to ameliorate social problems associated with immigration. The fact that all four could affect the same set of Italian immigrants in Toronto does not insure any communication among them.

Restructuring the 29 programs along the lines of the typology of Chapter 4 - declining, stable, and massive redevelopment, we note two interesting facts:

- a) There was a great difficulty in aligning most policies and programs with a specific inner city situation. This we felt reflected a policy structuring which was insensitive to the inner city as a

distinct part of the urban area, as well as a lack of sensitivity to differences among inner city areas. As a result of this we felt that the federal government's policy role in the inner city was blunted by the crudeness of its tools.

- b) There seem to be an even greater inability for the federal government to fulfill its policy role in stable areas of the city. It seems that for federal involvement to be warranted, an area has to slip into a state of decline, or face massive redevelopment. This we feel to be a dangerous situation, particularly in view of the importance of stable areas and the fact many suburban areas are of this type. According to some observers, there are suburbs in Toronto from the early fifties which are in great danger of decline today.

6 Suggested policy and program responses

6.1 Responses to general conditions and trends

In designing a policy response to current conditions and trends, it is important to see inner city areas in all their complexity and variety. We have distinguished three basic patterns of change in inner city areas in this document, and we hope to show in section 6.2 below that differing sets of policies and programs are required to meet the needs of each.

First, however, there are certain aspects of the Canadian pattern of urbanization which have consequences for the future function of inner city areas in general (wherever located), and policy must recognize and deal with these general patterns.

We find that low socio-economic status groups are over-represented in the inner city in Canadian urban areas, particularly in the larger cities. Though the degree of concentration is less than in American cities, it is increasing. Segregation by ethnicity is also probably increasing, though certain groups are moving outward from the inner city to form equally-segregated corridors or enclaves in the suburbs.

Generally speaking, the population of the inner city is declining, and there is an increasingly large percentage of non-family households and persons over 65 years of age. The families who do remain tend to be larger than the city average and low-income.

Reductions in industrial, residential, and retail commercial uses are an evident trend, being replaced by auto related uses and service industries.

The functions competing for space in the inner city are numerous - working class communities, receiving areas for immigrants, lower class populations, singles and childless couples, elderly people, some middle-class families, upper class enclaves, alternative life-style groups, commercial-industrial uses, public and institutional uses, open space and transportation systems.

Many of the above general trends, if extrapolated, indicate a future core which will increasingly accommodate some of these functions at the expense of others. The needs of certain residential groups and non-residential functions are being increasingly met, while the interests of others are likely to be sacrificed. The probable future (based on present trends) is one of an inner city population composed largely of non-family households (ranging from the single professional to the transient man to the elderly), childless couples (both young and old), low-income families and pockets of recent immigrants. As for the CBD, it could range from an active area of higher order functions to which easy access is provided for suburbanites (in rapidly growing cities) to an increasingly stagnant core (in slow-growth cities with a weak economic base).

On the other hand, we know that some inner city residential areas have remained stable (functionally speaking) and viable over several decades. Some are being revitalized by renewed interest in the locational advantages they present, and others, ripe for change, are being temporarily stabilized through planning controls. Still others are being redeveloped in a manner which, though it strengthens their residential character, radically changes the population composition.

There is an interest in maintaining a more balanced population mix and a more satisfying environment. Citizens groups are struggling to reinforce and build on the fabric of old communities. Some middle income families are returning to live in certain inner city neighbourhoods. Municipal governments are beginning to respond and are attempting to apply strict development controls to inner city neighbourhoods. The Federal government is offering increased funds for neighbourhood conservation and rehabilitation projects. And, finally, we are beginning to realize that large sections of the inner city lend themselves to such approaches by

virtue of a basically sound housing stock, a pleasing physical appearance, and easy access to a variety of facilities and services.

There is perhaps nothing inherently wrong with a specialized core which serves the residential needs of only a few groups. But if we opt for an inner city environment which fills a large variety of functions, then a coordinated governmental approach to the problem of building such a future is necessary. Groups attempting to create this kind of future, mentioned in the paragraph above, cannot succeed with the resources at their command. The trends toward greater specialization, and the resources of those who benefit from it, are too strong. If we want a multi-functional inner city in the future, governments must aid and capitalize on efforts and trends which point in this direction, and provide a framework within which they can succeed.

6.2 Specific responses to the three patterns

The typology developed in Chapter 4 will be used below to outline suggested policies and programs for different kinds of inner city areas. Areas which are stable or revitalizing are the most likely to offer an environment and a housing stock congenial to families, both working and middle class. Therefore, their conservation and improvement is vital if we want to maintain a balanced population mix in the inner city. Massive redevelopment, on the other hand, provides for the needs of certain increasingly important groups. High-density apartment development is an essential element of the inner city, but it is possible to provide space for such uses without destroying stable neighbourhoods. Finally, declining areas urgently need help, though in many cases the most appropriate help

will not be large-scale demolition. It is possible to move some of these areas toward stability, and to integrate new functions into existing fabric of others.

Suggested policy responses to each of the three patterns of change are outlined below:

a) Declining areas

We have seen that declining inner city areas are characterized by:

- loss of population, particularly stable families, leaving the elderly, marginally employed singles and poor families
- worsening housing and environmental conditions
- loss of many CBD functions, with no new functions to replace them
- sometimes the influx of a seriously disadvantaged ethnic group, or the breaking up of a previously stable ethnic community
- increasing proportion of tenants and non-resident ownership
- stable or decreasing housing and land values
- lack of community organizations
- little or no pressure for redevelopment

The old urban renewal program was conceived with such areas in mind, and in our current rush to move away from the old approach we tend to forget that Canadian cities do contain such neighbourhoods. This does not mean that we have to repeat the errors made with urban renewal, but it does imply that the "soft" approach inherent in NIP may not be applicable everywhere.

We have learned that neighbourhood change is a long, slow process. Too rapid and drastic a change inevitably produces serious social problems. Even badly declining areas have a social order which, if not respected, disintegrates to the detriment of all concerned. Nevertheless, in declining areas we do need to stimulate social change, new development, and the integration of new functions rather than just

protecting and improving what exists.

There seem to be two general sets of conditions which lead to decline in inner city neighbourhoods. The first is related to a weak regional economy which produces low average incomes, a lack of new investment in the inner city, and an outflow of CBD functions (e.g. Winnipeg). For these and other reasons the middle class abandons the inner city, and the remaining population is disorganized and unable to invest in the housing stock. In such cases, it is difficult to see long-term solutions without basic improvements in the regional economic situation. Close coordination between NIP/urban renewal type policies and regional economic development policies is called for. Non-residential renewal and the construction of middle income housing may be necessary, activities not easily accomplished under the present NHA. The feasibility of offering such programs as part of regional development policy (rather than housing policy) should be studied. In this way the necessary coordination could be achieved. Even in such cases, however, large-scale destruction of residential areas should not be funded.

In the absence of basic improvement in the regional economic situation, certain government actions can still have a positive effect on such declining areas:

- Municipalities can be assisted in developing new CBD functions - recreational areas, cultural facilities, public buildings, waterfront and port redevelopment, etc. - probably as demonstration projects.
- Environmental improvements can be effected in residential areas, making them more attractive to stable families, possibly through NIP.
- The housing situation of low-income residents can be improved through rehabilitation and scattered site public housing.
- Some middle-income housing can be constructed in improved neighbourhoods which offer good access to the CBD, possibly with the help of such programs

as land assembly and rail relocation.

- Concentrated, coordinated service delivery programs should be designed for declining areas, with an emphasis on employment generating activities, and with strong resident involvement.

In regard to the last item, experience with various poverty programs in the U.S. shows that the effectiveness of service delivery programs varied, and at best produced only limited short-term benefits. A significant side-effect, however, with long-term implications, was the development of a knowledgeable, politically astute stratum of the resident population. Through intense involvement in such programs, some local people developed the skills necessary to deal with bureaucracies, to exert political influence and to generally represent forcefully the interests of the community. This, more than any other result of the poverty program, holds promise for the long run. It is hoped that Canadian efforts in this area can learn from American mistakes but can also capitalize on this achievement.

The second factor which seems to lead to decline is government or private industry decisions on development projects. Often when a public renewal or a private redevelopment project is announced for an area, the level of maintenance declines, other investment stops and mobile people begin to move. Rapid decline takes place. If, as sometimes happens, the redevelopment project never materializes, the area is left in such a state that recovery is unlikely. Decisions on major transportation routes sometimes have similar effects. Particularly if the route cuts the neighbourhood off from other residential areas or imposes a serious environmental hazard, a process of decline normally ensues. If allowed to continue, this process produces a situation where total demolition is the only feasible solution.

It is difficult to see why the federal government

should be called upon to correct the consequences of decisions usually made at the local and provincial levels. Nevertheless, such situations as those described above do exist and municipalities generally lack the financial resources to solve them. Thus, federal funds should be available for projects designed to solve such problems (which usually involve considerable demolition). Each case should be carefully considered on its own merits, and federal assistance should cover a smaller percentage of the cost than it does under NIP. Further, the federal government should make it clear it does not intend to pay for the future planning mistakes of other governments, that it will instead assist (financially and otherwise) the local planning process so that, hopefully, the number of such errors will be reduced.

b) Areas which are stable or revitalizing

To summarize the earlier discussion, such areas are characterized by:

- no significant gains or losses in population;
- stable or slowly increasing income, educational and occupational levels;
- maintenance of a mixture of family and non-family units (though because of the strong draw of the suburbs there may be a small loss of families);
- stable or slowly improving physical conditions, sometimes highlighted by private rehabilitation;
- in some cases, a new influx of middle-income families;
- in some cases, a strong, solidly-established ethnic community;
- increasingly strong and active community organizations;
- stable or increasing housing and land costs;
- either no pressure for redevelopment, or effective controls on such pressure;
- sometimes, but by no means always, an increasing proportion of home owners.

Stability/revitalization can result from two sets of

conditions. The first includes a basically stable working-class population and little or no pressure for redevelopment (e.g., some of the neighbourhoods in East Montreal). Though such areas have problems, they are not critical and do not call for strong government action. Protection should be offered through planning controls, the normal mix of services must be provided and governments should support and work with neighbourhood organizations. It is possible that a well-designed NIP project could benefit some such areas, but it should be carefully planned with the community and should avoid elements likely to produce too drastic a change. Employment-generating programs such as LIP and NHW's forthcoming community employment program might be particularly applicable here in light of the precarious employment situation of some working-class families.

Thus, with the exception of NHW's expected employment programs, and possibly assistance for local planning, no new federal initiatives are required to meet the needs of these areas.

The other set of conditions producing a situation of stability/revitalization are a mixed population, strong community organizations with a perceived stake in the stability of the area, and some effective form of control over redevelopment pressure, (e.g., Sandy Hill, Ottawa). The usual scenario is that an already well-organized community reacts strongly against growing pressure to redevelop their area, which is a low or medium density form of development sitting on high-priced land. They gain support for the idea that the area and the community are viable and worth preserving, and city hall reacts by placing controls on the kind of investment to be allowed in the neighbourhood. As discussed above, this is a desirable phenomenon because it counteracts the trend toward highly specialized land uses in the inner city and preserves areas which are likely to attract a more balanced

population (i.e., families and singles, middle and low income, elderly and young). Efforts in this respect will need significant assistance from governments. NIP and RRAP seem well-suited to strengthen the residential character and to improve amenities in such areas, though if the program does catch on RRAP funds will have to be increased. Controlling redevelopment pressure without producing stagnation or causing serious problems for other parts of the city necessitates sophisticated planning and administration. Some form of federal assistance to local and regional planning agencies is called for, as well as substantial financial aid to citizens groups involved in planning for their areas. A recent trend in some neighbourhoods is an influx of middle-income families. It is not clear how significant this trend will become, but if such areas are improved through NIP, and extra amenities are added, the influx could increase in magnitude. If this occurs, government must assure that the present lower-income residents are not pushed out. Additional rent and rehabilitation subsidies may be necessary, as well as a policy of controlling the number of in-migrating middle-income families eligible for rehabilitation loans. A certain amount of public housing will also be needed and should take the form of infill or rehabilitation of old units.

Federal efforts to channel growth away from large urban areas through incentives to industry, funds for amenities in medium-size cities, and new communities should, if successful, reduce the pressure on inner city neighbourhoods and increase the chances of preserving and improving them.

c) Areas undergoing massive redevelopment

Areas which are undergoing or have undergone redevelopment exhibit the following:

- a gain in population, but a loss of most family units and (except where subsidized housing is included) low-income people, leaving a preponderance

- of singles, young couples, and the elderly;
- an increase in the average income, educational and occupational levels;
 - an improvement in housing conditions for those who move in, but often a decline for those forced out;
 - sometimes an improvement in environmental quality, but also the possibility of congestion, incapacity of services to meet new needs, etc.;
 - a complete shift to tenancy (except in the case of condominiums);
 - a decline in the strength and activities of community organizations;
 - increasing housing and land costs;
 - loss of ethnic identity;
 - certain CBD functions declining in importance are replaced by rapidly-growing new functions.

When large sections of the inner city are under pressure for redevelopment, viable older residential areas are often destroyed and certain uses which cannot cope with increasing costs are squeezed out. Relocation of lower-income families becomes a major problem, often triggering a process of decline when they move in large numbers to another part of the city. On the other hand, massive redevelopment produces housing with good access to the CBD for an increasingly important segment of the urban population - singles, other non-family households, and young couples.

Thus the desirable policy here is one which protects viable neighbourhoods and preserves sound older housing while channeling private redevelopment efforts into preferred locations (e.g., high-density corridors, undeveloped land, as a replacement for industrial uses). Here as in other cases, more sophisticated planning is called for. There might also be some leverage in existing legislation for CMHC to influence the location of certain private redevelopment projects, and the Federal government could use its land holdings and plan its construction projects with these requirements

in mind. Finally, the land assembly and rail relocation programs can be used both to maintain an area in low-density use and to develop high-density corridors.

Governmental assistance is necessary to allow the construction of medium-density, low-rise housing on high-priced inner city land. This would increase the range of housing types available in the inner city and thus help attract a more balanced population. These might be done as demonstration projects, either privately with federal financing (and probably subsidies) or with CMHC as developer. The creation of a public urban development corporation is also worthy of study.

Service agencies need help in dealing with "massive redevelopment" situations, because of the relocation problem and the new needs of the incoming population. Non-family households (even middle-class ones) need different services than low-income groups. Service agencies are geared to provide services to the latter but not to the former.

Public housing will have to be provided in other parts of the city for some of the population forced out by redevelopment.

6.3 Conclusion

Thus, we see that the three patterns of change in inner city areas require differing policy stances. The policy response to problems of decline we might call "stimulation" - that is, encouraging and developing new uses, new CBD functions, the in-migration of new populations, and employment-generating activities among lower-income groups. For stable and revitalizing areas, the response might be called "protection". The objective here is to protect, strengthen and improve the residential character and population mix of such neighbourhoods. We will call the suggested approach to massive redevelopment "control", though this is perhaps

too strong a word (synonyms would be channel, influence). Here the need is to control high-density private development by channelling it into preferred locations, thus protecting viable neighbourhoods, and to provide for the needs of both the displaced and the new population. In Table 12, a list of suggested actions is given for each of the three types.

We should also note here some other policy needs arising out of our analysis which concern all types of inner city areas:

- a) Transportation measures which will allow access to the CBD without destroying inner city neighbourhoods, including better design and assistance for the development of public transit systems.
- b) New forms of housing subsidy which go directly to the household rather than being attached to the housing unit.
- c) Development of recreational facilities and open space in the inner city, both for residents and users of the CBD.
- d) More flexible and less centralized delivery systems for inner city programs, such as the system being used for NIP.
- e) Better coordination of federal policies and activities which impact on the inner city.

Table 12 The three types and policy responses

Pattern of change	Decline	Stability/revitalization	Massive redevelopment
Policy thrust	Stimulate	Protect	Control
Suggested programs and policies	1) Coordinate with regional economic development policy	1) Protection for area through planning controls	1) Channeling high-density private development into preferred locations
	2) Non-residential renewal (but no large residential demolition)	2) NIP and RRAP	
	3) Development of CBD facilities (demonstration projects, waterfront development, etc.)	3) Grants to citizens groups	2) Protection for viable areas and sound older housing (planning controls, NIP)
	4) Environmental improvements in residential areas (NIP)	4) Planning assistance	
	5) Public housing	5) Protection for lower income residents (extra subsidies)	3) Medium density, low-rise residential development (demonstration projects, CMHC as developer, etc.)
	6) Middle-income housing (demonstration projects, CMHC as developer, etc.)	6) Infill and small scattered-site projects, public and private	
	7) Assistance for local planning	7) Employment-generating programs	4) Public housing
	8) Concentrated service delivery programs	8) Efforts to channel growth away from largest cities (new communities, etc.)	5) Creative use of government land holdings and development projects (land assembly, Federal land management)
	9) Case-by-case consideration of demolition projects where other solutions not feasible		6) Special services for relocatees and new residents

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